1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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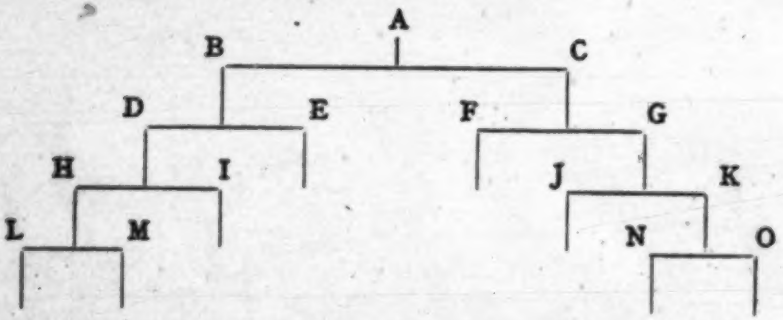
structure, and the letters in the diagram represent persons from whom the clan and its segments trace their descent and from whom they often take their names. There must be at least twenty such clans in Nuerland, without taking into account numerous small lineages of Dinka origin.



A lineage in the sense in which we generally employ this word is a group of living agnates, descended from the founder of that particular line. Logically it also includes dead persons descended from the founder—and we sometimes use the word to include them also—but these dead persons are only significant in that their genealogical position explains the relationships between the living. It is clear from the context whether the word is used in a more or less inclusive sense.

Clans and lineages have names, possess various ritual symbols, and observe certain reciprocal ceremonial relations. They have spear-names which are shouted out at ceremonies, honorific titles by which people are sometimes addressed, totemic and other mystical affiliations, and ceremonial status towards one another.

Agnatic kinship between lineages is called *buth*. *Buth* is always an agnatic relationship between groups of persons, and only between persons in virtue of their membership of groups. *Buth* agnation is to be distinguished from kinship in the sense of relationship between persons, e.g. between a man and his father's brother and mother's brother. Cognation in this sense the Nuer call *mar*. Any person to whom a man can trace any genealogical link, whether through males or females, is *mar* to him. A man's *mar* are consequently all his father's kin and all his mother's kin, and we call this cognatic category his kindred.

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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611 In normal usage the word refers to close relatives only. Therefore, as *mar* includes close agnates, the word *buth* is used only in
612 reference to distant agnates, between whom and the speaker there is lineage cleavage. There is *buth* relationship between lineages of the same clan and also between related clans which have the same ancestor but do not compose an exogamous unit. A Dinka can be given *buth* relationship to a Nuer lineage by being adopted into a collateral lineage. We thus formally distinguish between the lineage system, which is a system of agnatic groups, and the kinship system, which is a system of categories of relationship to any individual; and we speak of these relationships as a man's paternal kin and his maternal kin, and both together as his kindred.

613 Political and lineage groups are not identical, but they have
619 a certain correspondence and often bear the same name, for a tribal area and its divisions are often called after the clans and lineages which are supposed to have first occupied them. This makes their inter-relation a very difficult problem to investigate and has led to some confusion in writings on the Nuer. Thus Gaawar is the name of a tribal area, of the tribesmen who inhabit it, and of the members of a clan which have in that area a socially dominant status. Likewise Gaajok and Gaajak are names of territories, tribes, and lineages. To clarify description clan and lineage names are therefore printed in small capitals. Hence, when we say that a man is a Gaawar we mean that he is a Gaawar tribesman, a man who resides in Gaawar country, whereas when we say that he is a GAAWAR we mean that he is a member of the GAAWAR clan, a descendant in the male line from War, the founder of the dominant clan in Gaawar country.

II

613 Three trees of clan descent are presented in the following
614 section in a form conventional to us, and which would also commend itself to Nuer, who sometimes speak of a lineage as *kar*, a branch, as illustrations of the way in which lineages split up, each being a branch of a larger one. The JINACA are the dominant clan in the Lou and Rengyan tribes, the GATGANKIIR are the dominant clan in the Jikany tribes, and the (GAA)THIANG

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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an elder who abuses a younger, as an uncle a nephew, or the two are of the same generation, as between cousins.

The sentiment of *mar*, of communion with his kin, gives a Nuer the comfort of security, the feeling of being in a known and friendly world. I would again stress that *mar* is cognatic kinship, a set of relationships to any person through either father or mother and, among the Nuer, embracing also close affines, and further that in this general interpersonal sense one does not evaluate between the relationships. The maternal uncle is just as much kin as the paternal uncle, and the mother's sister's son as the father's sister's son. They are all people one helps when they need help and who help oneself when one needs aid. '*Jimarida*', 'my kin', are the people who are near me, irrespective of their precise category of relationship, the people on whom I can rely. It is interesting to note that *mar*, like the Old English 'sib', may also have the sense of 'peace'—'*te mar kamdien*', 'they are at peace'—and that it appears also to be the same word as that used for 'my mother'. In a sense all kinship is through the mother, even kinship with the father and hence with the paternal kin.

I have been speaking of the nuclear kin, but, as was noted in Chapter I, there is no limit to the number of relationships a man can in one way or another establish in Nuerland. The kinship system is like a circular elastic band which can be stretched on an ever-widening circumference as a child grows up and increases the number of his social contacts and enlarges the area of their distribution. By this wide recognition of kin a man thus brings in some degree his whole personal society, all those with whom he has dealings, into the circle of relationships in which attitudes and behaviour are shaped by sentiments of kinship.

I shall say more later about kinship in this wider sense and restrict my present remarks to the nuclear kin, which ordinarily can be regarded as the paternal and maternal uncles and aunts and their children and the children of brothers and sisters. A specific kinship term can be used to describe persons in each of these categories, and the relationships they embrace are the prototypes of all kinship ties of the wider kind.

II

These categories of relationship fall into two broad types. The first comprises the agnates, the kin of the byre-side, the 'bulls', as

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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Nuer would say, who are also referred to collectively and in a general way of speaking as the *gaatgwanlene*, the children of paternal uncles. We have noted how these are divided off as the kin *kwi gwan*, on the father's side (of the family), in division of bridewealth, and also how among themselves they are more or less exempted from the prohibition which defines as incest congress with the wives of kinsmen because their wives are all wives of the lineage. We have further noted that consciousness of being members of a social group with common ancestors and symbols and corporate rights in territory and, within the limited range of nuclear kin, common interests in cattle and wives and common residence pull the children of their wives to the father's side. The second broad type comprises the cognates who are not agnates, the kin on the hut-side, whom Nuer describe collectively and in a general sense as *gaatnyiet*, the children of girls or daughters—that is to say, all kin to whom a man is related through women. Either they are children of daughters of his lineage or he is the son of a daughter of their lineage. Within the restricted range of reference of bridewealth distribution these are the kin *kwi man*, on the mother's side (of the family). They are the kinsmen with whose wives it is incestuous to have congress. We have earlier noted how important this concept is in the network of kinship ties of any Nuer community, with regard both to interpersonal relations and also to the establishing of links with its dominant lineage. I shall have occasion later to emphasize further its significance in this respect in considering the kinship system in relation to society as a whole. The relationships in which these two types are, as it were, summed up and contrasted for a Nuer are that of the *gwanlen*, the paternal uncle, and that of the *nar*, the maternal uncle.

The *gwanlen*, particularly the father's paternal half-brother, is portrayed by Nuer as the wicked uncle and is contrasted with the good uncle, the *nar*, particularly the mother's uterine brother. Both youths and maidens have often told me that they are more at one with their mothers' brothers than with their fathers' brothers and with their mothers' sisters than with their fathers' sisters. 'Wa! Your *nar* is far better (than your *gwanlen*)', said a Nuer to me once, expressing with force this common partiality. When I asked him why the maternal uncle was better he gave no further answer than the usual reply to this question: 'Because he is the brother of your mother'. However, I pressed him for a fuller

16: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1956
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and a number of kinsmen and neighbours were present, one of whom, Dhoal, was asked to preside because he was a leading man in the community. He began by pouring some of the beer out of the gourd over the tethering-peg of the cow devoted to *deng* when Karlual shouted to him to wait till they brought him a ladle. When it was brought, he poured a libation with it over the peg. A small son of Karlual was then told to do the same and afterwards to drink what was left in the ladle. Then various kinsmen also poured libations over the peg and all present poured beer into their hands and threw it into the air, an act called *kith*. The people then sat around the gourd and drank the remainder of the beer while they discussed family affairs.

All kinsmen who can do so should attend a ceremony of this kind, especially close agnatic kinsmen, for this is an occasion when kin are expected to reveal any resentment they may have in their hearts towards one another. Each tells the others where they have been at fault (*duer*) in speech or act during the past year, and the issues raised are then settled peacably by discussion. A man must not keep a grievance hidden, and if he does not reveal it now he must for ever keep silence. Nuer say that all the evil in their hearts is then blown away. I think that this is the meaning of the throwing of beer into the air. They also say '*giakni dial ba ke bap e yang*', 'all evils (which they have done to one another) will be gathered to (or taken over by) the cow'. All present place ashes on the back of the beast, probably an ox, and it is then cleansed by sprinkling or blowing beer on it. However, I did not see this part of the ceremony because owing to the lateness in starting it the beast had gone to pasture with the rest of the herd. I was told that it was performed in the afternoon when the herd returned from grazing.

III

In what I have said so far about the spirits of the air I have been speaking of their relations to ordinary Nuer. Sometimes a spirit possesses a man and when he has recovered from the seizure abides with him, giving him powers of healing, divination, exorcism, and foresight. I discuss the functions of these prophets in Chapter XII. Here I give only such information about them as is necessary for an appreciation of the spirits which possess them.